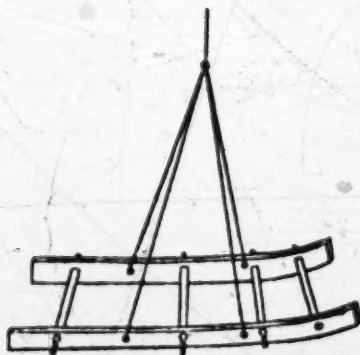


852 the sacred east end window must be broken down and an entrance made there.

846 Continuing, the Chief said, "On the morning of the seventh day the man may *shoiki chupu*, i.e. "fold up the bed." On this day he returns to his own home. Yet even here he must abide for another six days. During the first period of six days he must not drink [784] *sake* or worship the gods. This is out of special reverence to the supreme powers. And during the last six days he must not *utassa*, i.e. "have friends in for a drunken carouse"; nor must he go fishing or hunting. But he may eat, drink, worship, make fetishes and be very merry quietly by himself just as he pleases."

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AN AINU CRADLE

846 "But," said I, "why should the Ainu men be so particular about resting when a child is born. I should have thought that it was the wife who needed the rest." I then gathered from him that his people suppose the body and animal life of their children to be in great measure, if not exclusively, from their mothers, while the life of the spirit and intellect comes from their fathers. The life of the body is imparted by the mother gradually from the time of conception until

## THE BIRTH TREE AND CHILD-BIRTH

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birth takes place, while the spirit-life is supposed to come by degrees in some mysterious way from the father during the six days immediately following its birth, and go on growing and being augmented for another six days after he has returned to his own home. At the end of the last six days, which complete the perfect number, the infant may be regarded as a unit in itself, but while the spirit is being derived from the father it is not yet one; therefore, unless the father is very quiet and careful during these twice six days, the life of his offspring will take harm, and in injuring his child he will in return also receive harm.

I asked the Chief, "But supposing the father is away among the mountains when the child is to be born, what happens then? He knows nothing about it and can not take the rest?"

"That is so," he replied, "yet the birth goes on just the same. The *ikuren kamui*, i.e., "Divine Guardians," attend to the matter. Willow fetishes and totems are made by the near relations for the child, the goddess of fire is duly worshipped, and many libations drunk. And then all is well."

## HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in repelling and expelling evil spirits.

[241] [776] [688] Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

[462] The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of provisions was known either as Haru<sup>1</sup> (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) *Kamui*. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 [192] The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] <sup>1</sup> *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. [262] Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

## DEATH AND BURIAL

764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an  
 ● 843 elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (to-  
 [184] gether opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow  
 the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably in-  
 formed, it was pierced with a needle.

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with  
 the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an  
 adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal,  
 dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said  
 to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of  
 plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused  
 was acquitted.

764 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting,  
 178 even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is  
 detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the  
 body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth  
 dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then  
 do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district  
 (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second  
 decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort  
 of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole,  
 and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which  
 was then covered with earth.

764 When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven  
 into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-  
 post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purifica-  
 [789] tion of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a*  
 [783] *epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance  
 doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces,  
 is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circum-  
 stances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion  
 adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead.

764  
 778 *The Ritual of the Grave-post*

[184] Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu*  
 [532] *inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with

/762/General Treatment of Women. —

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Among the rest of the inhabitants of Sakhalin Island births are handled quite differently. These people are the hairy Ainu who in appearance much resemble the Russian peasants. They do not have many of the discomforts that burden the women in childbirth and of which we will say more below. This fact cannot be ascribed to their longer and closer contact with the more civilized Japanese, for other crude customs, which have been preserved to an equal extent among the Ainu and the Gilyak, have not changed correspondingly. The cause, rather, of the greater care which is accorded here to the woman in childbed lies in the considerably better social standing of the Ainu woman. She is never sold, and after marriage she does not become a member of a foreign tribe. Kinship on the maternal side is considered closer than that on the paternal side. Altogether there are still clear traces of an earlier /763/ matriarchy in the Ainu family. By now it is pretty well extinct but pronounced enough yet to make the life of an Ainu woman far better in many cases than that of women belonging to other tribes.

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The Ainu girl after her marriage is in no hurry to move over into her husband's house and often spends a few years in the parental house. Therefore her first confinement takes place, as a rule, among her closest relatives. I knew a woman in her middle age who had traveled back home to await her confinement in her parents' house.

From that alone it is obvious that the Ainu offer the woman in childbirth more comforts than the Gilyak or Oroch (1). In

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1. The third tribe living on Sakhalin. Its customs are more similar to those of the Gilyak than those of the Ainu.

fact, one notices a definite sense of sympathy and of a certain awe towards the woman who is shortly to become a mother.

[p. 756-762 on the Gilyak have not been translated - Analyst]

/763 cont. /

843 Even during pregnancy the woman enjoys a certain amount of  
562 attention and care. I was able to observe that they showed indulgence towards a pregnant woman, that they helped her at work and quietly permitted her idleness and longer sleep.

843 Among the advice to pregnant women especially noteworthy is the rule that recommends that they move around a lot. In this way the fetus is supposed to remain small and the parturition to proceed quickly and without special pains. The closer the moment of delivery, the more exercise the woman is to take. If she sits around much during her pregnancy the fetus becomes too large and the mother suffers several days before the birth is over.

732 A pregnant woman may not eat lobster since the child will  
843 then have a hare-lip. She may not eat the flesh of birds either  
802 because the child might then be born with squinting eyes which  
825 move like those of a bird. In this manner they explained to me a case of hare-lip of a woman in the village Nayero and of two cross-eyed brothers in the village of Takoe.

843 Two months before birth a pregnant woman may neither  
782 spin nor wind string (from nettle fibres) because the entrails  
823 of the child might then get entangled like string. The same  
826 can also happen if the woman should want to twist wool.

844 Birth—During the birth a woman does not leave the house but remains in her usual place at the fire. All children, young people, and sometimes also grown-up men, on the other hand, are chased out of the yurt. For they hold the belief that a great number of spectators increases the pains of the woman, and they also consider quiet as very desirable. In order not to dirty the floor they cover the spot where the sick woman is to lie with twigs of fir and pine. They also give her a support of old clothes and a mat woven out of grass. The woman lies down on her right or left /764/ side with a belt clasped lightly around her, which is made of some kind of material, but not of nettle fibres since these are too hard. When the weather is cold the woman keeps her boots on but in the contrary case this is not necessary.

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844 When the mother has  
 853 no nourishment for the child during an extended period of time  
 [292] her breasts are tied by means of a sling of soft cloth to prevent  
 [298] them from moving to and fro or from flopping down. They also  
 smear the breasts with the white sap of a plant called pe kara  
kina, that is, "a milk-giving grass." Women who possess in-  
 sufficient nourishment are very rare among the Ainu, according  
 to their own claims. Ordinarily the Ainu women have more  
 milk than the child needs, and I have repeatedly seen women  
 doing away with part of their nourishment or feeding two chil-  
 dren with it.

Miscarriage.

843 I have heard from several Ainu men and women that mis-  
 carriages are very rare with them.

843 For two years (1903-1904) I myself closely observed all  
 114 changes in the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin  
 Island and noted down two cases of miscarriage in 1903 (one  
 of a 29-year old woman in the eighth month of pregnancy;  
 another of a 24-year old woman in the sixth or seventh month  
 of pregnancy. Both bore normal, living children one and one  
 half years later). In 1904 I noted down one case of miscarriage  
 (with a woman in the ninth month of pregnancy). In these  
 [163] villages there were in the years 1903-1904 a total of 25 births,  
 and 147-155 women capable of bearing children. Among the  
 latter I count all women above the age of 15 and below 51.

843 The Ainu do not know that a miscarriage ensues if one of  
 164 the parents has syphilis. One of the miscarriages mentioned  
 177 above can be ascribed to this cause (the father was syphilitic).

I have no exact knowledge of conditions on the western  
 shore of Sakhalin Island. It is possible that miscarriages are  
 more frequent there since the inhabitants of those regions are  
 exposed to syphilitic infection through Japanese workers who  
 come to Sakhalin for fishing.

843 The Ainu themselves explain the causes of miscarriage in  
 753 the following manner:

1. If the husband has an abscess on his penis which refuses  
 to heal, this is not considered as a disease; as long as the man  
 does not keep /769/ his defect a secret and tells his wife and

/769 cont. /

843 her relatives about it, no miscarriage will take place.

853 2. If the woman falls during her pregnancy and receives a severe shaking, miscarriage will occur.

843 After seven lunar months of pregnancy the woman should  
833 avoid frequent intercourse with her husband since during this time the male semen might get into the eyes and mouth of the fetus, and the child would thus see badly. They tell of new-born children who have so much white slime in their mouth [845] which, like male semen, is called (swembo), that it cannot be removed fast enough from their mouth and they die by suffocating from it.

846 Following parturition intercourse is not allowed for from  
833 30 to 40 days.

842 A typical idea of the Ainu is that conception is not brought about by having intercourse just once or twice. The child, they think, is the fruit of repeated coitus, and for that reason [836] it is considered harmless by the Ainu women to yield to a man once or twice. They only fear the consequences of an extended love affair.

847 Among the Ainu, much more frequently than among the  
177 Gilyak, miscarriages are induced artificially. The life of the  
[843] latter is much more normal in the framework of traditional customs, whereas that of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island has been influenced for two centuries by a powerful external factor, that of the Japanese. These interfere to an enormous extent in the life of the Ainu, they change it and import elements that are not exactly instrumental in furthering culture. Especially the women stand under the influence of foreign men who are only interested in satisfying their sexual urge. Hence stems the large number of secret affairs that Ainu women have [548] with foreigners, and it gives rise to the type of women who are given to an only slightly veiled form of prostitution. In both cases they purposely avoid pregnancy and apply all methods to remove it in case it accidentally occurs.

847 The most commonly used method for this, long known to Ainu women, is pressing the abdomen with the hands or some